In some cases, difficulties (such as tree stumps, roots, and the like) were encountered in preparing the building site at the customary place. As a result, the meeting house would be constructed to one side within the row of houses, though in a transverse position (see Fig. 44). Later, "they" frequently did

Fig. 19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essauong Family), Fang.

not get around to replacing this building by a new one in the right location, however fervently the chief might desire it on behalf of the people. When they did get around to building a new meeting house, the old one was frequently not torn down right away but continued to be used along with the new one.

In form, the meeting house (Fig. 20 and 21) has a gabled roof and a square or rectangular ground plan. I have already mentioned the custom of the Pangwe, when they start a new settlement, to content themselves with hastily constructed temporary meeting houses (ongǒn e ngī). Only later, when

344 532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

344 352 [324] Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two shelves of the same wood (kū'dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enŏ'n) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akōkŏ'nŏk) with pointed pins (c = mbĕn -ak. I Fang, oĕn Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = oĕmé ja-enŏn) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū'dū -enŏn III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = aĕ'gebĕ -enŏn), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

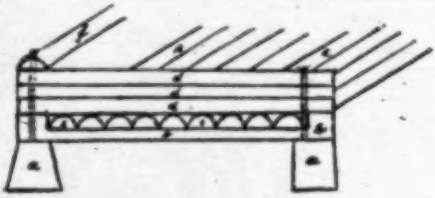

Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

strands are placed like hooks asound its outside edge, and they are fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones džǎd, niǎ džǎd = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

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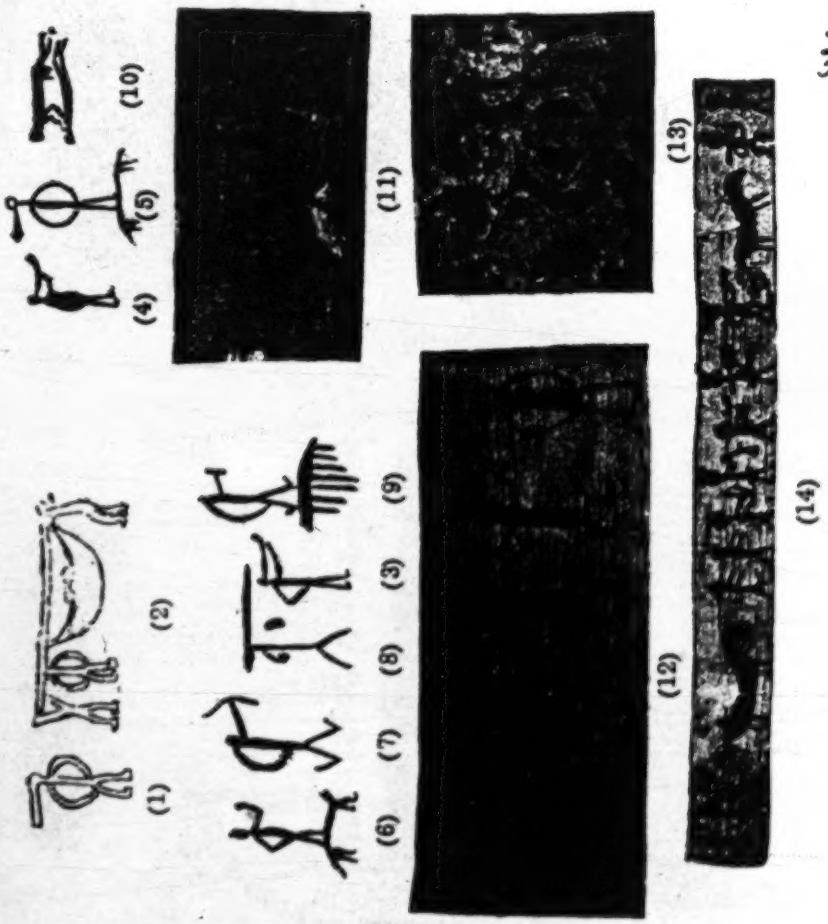

Fig. 225. Drawings on House Walls (Drawings 1-10) and on Bark Plates (Drawings 11-14). Drawings 1, 3, 4, and 8. Man with a tobacco pipe. Drawing 2. A European carried in a hammock. Drawings 5 and 11. Man with tobacco pipe on horseback. Drawings 6 and 9. Man on horseback. Drawing 7. Man with a dog whip. Drawing 10. Coitus. Drawing 12. Three people and an animal (chameleon?). Drawing 13. People. Drawing 14. Caravan of two Whites on horseback, accompanied by soldiers.

B. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 177 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 225). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /273/ /Fig. 225 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text./ It is therefore probable that the ancestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

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In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

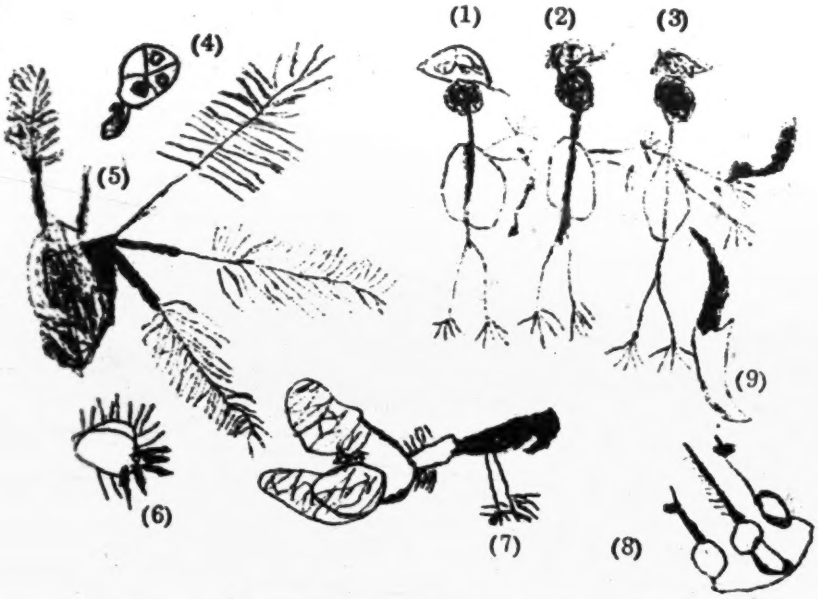

Fig. 226. Drawings by a Servant of the Author. Drawings 1-3. The author. Left, with a whip; right, with a walking stick. Drawing 4. Pocket watch belonging to the author. Drawing 5. Raffia palm. Drawing 6. Porcupine. Drawing 7. Man on a bicycle. Drawing 8. The author's key chain. Drawing 9. European pincers.

domestic or wild animals are very rare, there are none of plants, and as to tools, only the most striking ones (for instance, the large forging iron). Besides, most of the drawings are only scribbling anyway, in which only the author -- and perhaps not always even he -- had any idea of what he was doing. Obscene pictures, such as the one shown in Drawing 10, Figure 225, are a great /275/ rarity; in the majority of drawings representing persons the sex organs are completely omitted. The sheet of pictures which my black boy gave to me as a farewell present, which he also adorned with my picture (Fig. 226), is of significance only for the "modern trend in art" and perhaps also for the

Fig. 227
Top of a Chief's Stick with a Human Figure.

general conceptual ability of the natives; 532 ●
for the rest, however, it has no ethnographic
value since such a creation would never have come
about without external influence.

C. Plastic arts.

rooted in religion and hence derive their motifs from 537 769
the conceptual realm of ancestor worship and of the
great cults.

The ancestral figures are heads carved out of wood
or full figures in the African style, that is, with
a recurrent lack of expression which, despite all the
superficiality of the given forms, nonetheless seems
to me to reflect a certain amiable naiveté and a quiet
humor. To be sure, this effect hardly makes itself felt in the cold museum cases, but it does so in the native environment, especially when the natives carry the figures about at their cult festivals and make them dance. At any rate, the figures never bear the distorted, animalistic traits that distinguish Papuan art.

The large figures associated with celebrations for the ancestors are striking exceptions among the ordinary ancestral figures which are carved out of a single piece of wood. These large figures have attached arms which are slightly movable, legs, and sex organs.

In the same category as the ancestral figures we should place 532
the following which probably have a primarily religious significance: human figures at the ends of a number of chief's sticks (Fig. 227); furthermore, human heads on the center pillars and on the posts of the benches in the meeting houses, on the harps, and on the box musical pipe. On the other hand, the carving on the memory game is probably purely secular; at one end this carving forms a head. The same applies perhaps to the animal

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representations on the posts of the meeting house (for instance, the leopard biting a pig's tail).

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The masks used for the moon cult have a purely religious significance, as do the clay figures of the various cults. Indeed, especially in the latter the plastic art of the native rises to achievements of significant, one might even say monumental, proportions, both in the actual physical sense of the word (I saw figures eight meters long) and in the sense that they represented the idea symbolically expressed in a striking manner.

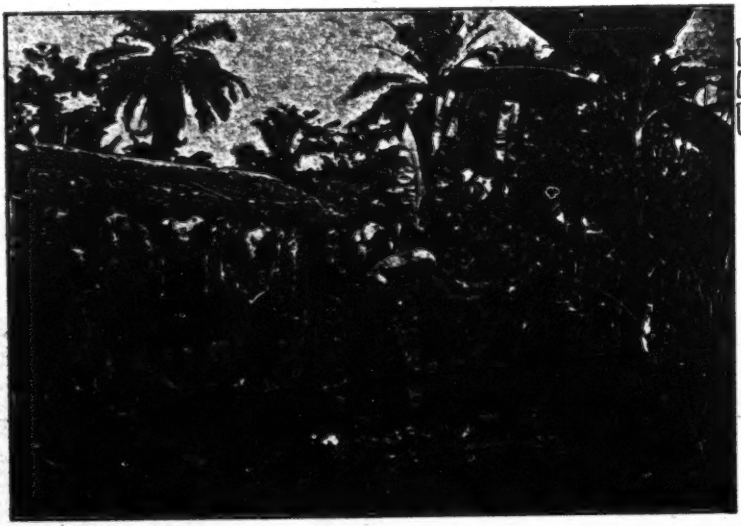

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Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult [778] place, in this case called a love grove (elik andŭ'măn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the [824] sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the [532] medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžĭ,) (1). In Ebăangon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

575 sentences passed by their superiors. In struggling against sorcerers,
626 it had also a medical role, which for a while outlived its police role:
Bertaut (no. 110) seems to have known it only under this aspect,
which did not arouse so much administrative suspicion. Allys con-
siders it to be the "war fetish," thus agreeing, apparently, with
Allégret and Largeau. Martrou and Leroux refer in this connection
to "franc-juges," which recalls Bearth's description of the nsig nto
of the Bané.

576 Very little is known about ngil rites as a whole or about their
symbolism. The initiation has some traits in common with the sô:
preliminary physical and moral purification, flagellation, confession,
a broth for a test made of horrible substances, representation of an-
cestors, symbolic transition from an epicene or androgynous to a
monosexual state (2), blood sacrifices. It is probable that these traits

2. Or, on the contrary, according to Stoll, transition from a monosexual state to a bisexual completion.

[578] are to be found in all important Pahouin rites. The sacred spot was
a rectangular stockade, ésam, open to one side, with clay figures
of the ngil and his "wife," (3) in front of which there was dug a
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3. Or a single androgynous statue.

trench covered with a lattice in which initiates were hidden so as to prick the candidates with their spears when brought before the ngil after having had to climb through an ant pit (as in the sô). There was also a liana representing a python, the precise role /i.e., significance/ of which I do not know. The neophytes had to bring ancestral bones, which were kneaded into the clay of the figurines. The ceremony included a test intended to show if the neophyte was nnem (bearer of évu), which would have entailed his being put to death immediately; /64/ a blessing of the ritual spears which, according to Trilles, bore totemic designs; finally a sexual symbolism termed "obscene" by the authors mentioned, who give no further description of it.

The initiates left their houses in procession, masked or painted with white and red (mourning and rejoicing colors, respectively),

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

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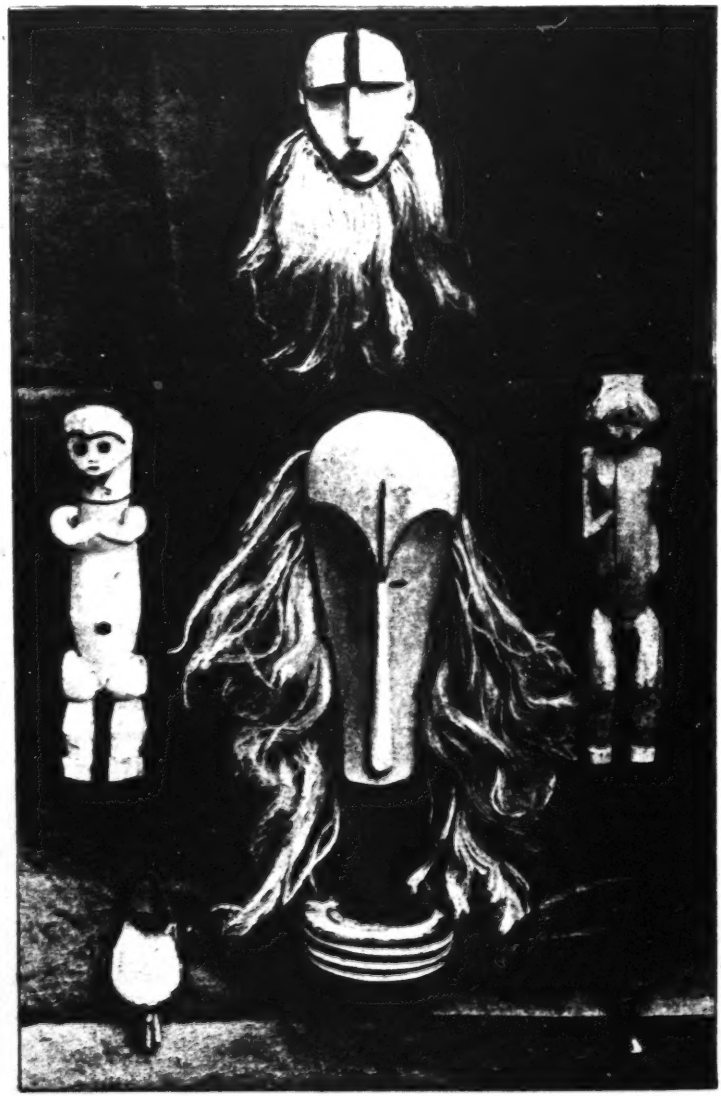

1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dogbell 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrifice knife.

[p. 66(A)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal.

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biange Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afua*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the